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ABSTRACT

This paper examines two studies on language development and narrative discourse structure by looking at how language shapes and is shaped by culture-specific experiences. Conversations between 20 middle-class Japanese preschoolers, aged 4-5 years old, and their mothers were analyzed to study differences in narrative elicitation by mothers towards children in these age groups. Findings indicate that mothers used different techniques depending on the child's age to elicit children's participation in narrative discourse. Study 1 examined micro-level aspects of parental styles and found that mothers of 4-year-old children were more likely to use a particular discourse device to preface topic-extension. Study 2 used a speech act coding system and revealed that mothers of 4-year-old children requested more evaluation from their children in comparison to mothers of 5-year-old children. Across the two age groups, maternal requests for information about actions during narrative elicitation were found to be negatively associated with children's statements about actions in their monologic narrative productions. Yet positive correlations were noted in quantity and variety of words used by the children and duration of talking turn. Overall, a close relationship was found between maternal patterns of narrative elicitation and children's developing narrative skill. (Contains 36 references.) (Author/NAV)

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Parental Styles of Narrative Elicitation and Children's Narrative Discourse Skill

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Abstract

Following the social interaction paradigm (Vygotsky, 1978), this study examines language development and narrative discourse structure, by looking at how language shapes and is shaped by culture-specific experiences. Conversations between 20 middle-class Japanese preschoolers aged four and five years old and their mothers were analyzed to study differences in narrative elicitation between mothers of four- and five-year-olds. In terms of social interaction aspects, mothers of children of different ages were found to use different techniques to elicit children's participation in narrative discourse. Study One, which examined micro-level aspects of parental styles of narrative elicitation, suggests that compared to the mothers of five-year-olds, the mothers of four-year-olds were more likely to use a particular discourse device (huun: well) to preface topic-extension. Study Two, which used a speech act coding system (Dickinson, 1991; McCabe & Peterson, 1991; Minami & McCabe, 1995), has revealed that in comparison to the mothers of five-year-olds, the mothers of four-year-olds requested more evaluation from their children.

The link between maternal narrative elicitation strategies and children's developing narrative skill is also demonstrated. Across the two age-groups, maternal requests for information about actions during narrative elicitation were found to be negatively associated with children's statements about actions in their monologic narrative productions. On the other hand, positive correlations were revealed in two domains: (1) quantity and variety--the greater the number and variety of words the child used when interacting with his or her mother, the more words and greater variety of words he or she would use when constructing narratives alone; (2) duration--the longer the mother allowed her child to continue talking per turn during narrative elicitation, the longer the child would continue to talk during a monologic narrative, using a greater number and variety of words. These results indicate that, in mother-child interactions, unless the mother considers that her child gives sufficient evaluative statements, she

scaffolds her child's production by providing requests for evaluation. This study thus emphasizes a close relationship between maternal patterns of narrative elicitation and children's developing narrative skill.

Parental Styles of Narrative Elicitation and Children's Narrative Discourse Skill

In one way or another, most developmental theorists address the question of how language, thought, and social interaction are related in a child's life. Depending on the particular focus of each theory, these three aspects of development can be defined and connected differently. It is possible to characterize some theories as cognitive-developmental and others as social interaction. The former theories, represented by Piaget (1959), regard individual cognitive processes as primary in development, whereas the latter view, represented by Vygotsky (1978) and Bruner (1977, 1986, 1990), regard social interaction as primary for development.

It is important to see, in other words, these two approaches to cognitive development, the one as relatively autonomous from language (Piaget) and the other as highly dependent on language (Vygotsky and Bruner), in the light of how the two theories also relate cognitive development and social interaction. Cognitive development is for Piaget relatively autonomous, not only independent of language but also of social interaction. As is the case with language, Piaget has at times acknowledged social interaction as a possible, albeit secondary, factor in development. In contrast, Vygotsky and Bruner view children's participation in social interaction as a privileged kind of interaction with the world, which is a primary factor for cognitive development. In this theory, patterns of cognitive activity and changes in such patterns cannot be understood independently of the social-interactive processes that shape them and from which they emerge. As Cummins (1994) puts it, therefore, "Both first language acquisition and cognitive development are active, constructive processes whereby children generate their knowledge of the world and their linguistic knowledge within a matrix of social interaction" (p. 45).

In this narrative study I follow the social interaction paradigm. Personal narratives order experience by making sense of the general flow of events in a person's

life. The origins of narrative style can be traced back to conversations between parents and children (Sachs, 1979). The goal of this study is to examine how Japanese parents guide their preschool children (four- and five-year-olds) in the acquisition of culture-specific styles of narrative. Whereas monologic narrative might present a more cognitive view of narrative development, dialogic narrative such as conversations between mother and child seem to illustrate a more interactive view of narrative development. Specific research questions that can be posed in this context are the following:

1. Are there any style differences in narrative elicitation between mothers of four-year-olds and mothers of five-year-olds?
2. Are there any style differences in narrative elicitation between mothers of boys and mothers of girls?
3. Is there any relationship between maternal patterns of narrative elicitation and a child's developing narrative skill?

The main purpose of this study is thus to explore the relationship between maternal styles of narrative elicitation and the children's narrative development.

Research in this area has increasingly focused on the role of social interaction in young children's language development and acquisition of narrative structure. It has been demonstrated that children's cognitive skills first develop through interactions with more mature members of society and are then internalized (Bruner, 1977; Vygotsky, 1978).

In narrative contexts children's speech is guided and/or scaffolded by mothers who initiate topics and conversations. Eisenberg (1985) examined the dialogic nature of conversations of young children with their mothers and identified three phases of development: "(a) dependency on adult participation; (b) the discussion of elements common to many instances of an event, rather than the unique occurrences of a specific event (i.e., dependence on a "script" of the event); and (c) talk about unique occurrences, but difficulty in planning a lengthy discourse" (p. 177). Hudson (1990, 1993) has studied the role of parent-child conversations in the development of young children's ability to

talk about past events. Investigating the effects of maternal elicitation style, she particularly emphasizes the influence of repeatedly recounting events on the emergence and development of early autobiographical memory. Further, McCabe and Peterson (1991) and Peterson and McCabe (1992) claim that stylistic differences between parents also affect children's later narrative style. Likewise, Fivush (1991) suggests that those mothers who use a more elaborated elicitation style early in development have children who provide more elaborated accounts later in development.[1] Thus, the social interaction paradigm suggests that the ability to structure personal narratives develops through social interactions between individuals, particularly between young children and their linguistically more competent mothers. In this way, the presence of distinctive maternal styles of narrative elicitation becomes interesting if we can relate them to children's narrative skill.

In studying mother-child interactions in a given culture, it is easy to imagine that parents differ from one another in many ways in talking with their children. Some parents extend one topic extensively, whereas others are more likely to shift topics of conversation with their children. In other words, parents differ in terms of what kinds of orientation and evaluation they both prompt for and model. The role of individual and cultural variation among mothers is important in early face-to-face interactions for children. As Levinson (1983) puts it, "face-to-face interaction is not only the context for language acquisition, but the only significant kind of language use in many of the world's communities" (pp. 43-44). Thus, since the mother is generally the primary person interacting with her young child, the early conversational context for the child's narrative development is shaped by maternal questions and prompts.

As a natural extension of this assumption, the mother, either implicitly or explicitly, provides her child with culturally appropriate narrative forms. It can be hypothesized that through interactions with the mother, the child learns to tell his or her own stories using culture-specific representational forms and rules. In other words, it is

assumed that as a result of early social interactions, young children's narratives are shaped into culturally preferred narrative patterns.

Once the relationship between parental elicitation strategies and children's narratives is identified, this study then investigates the extent to which children's personal narratives are influenced and constructed through social interactions. It specifically examines both micro- and macro-level aspects of parental styles of narrative elicitation. The speech act coding system, which was originally developed by Dickinson (1991), has also been used to code maternal speech. This type of analysis and this coding system allow us to see how speech acts are mapped over turns in narrative discourse and can provide answers to the overall question of how Japanese parents guide their children in the acquisition of specific styles of narrative.

Method

Subjects

The sample for the present study of parental narrative elicitation patterns is 20 Japanese preschool children, half aged four and half five, and their mothers. It will be remembered that, for each age cohort half of the children studied were boys and half were girls. Mothers who participated in this project were supplied with tape recorders and blank cassette tapes and asked to record at home occasions when their children liked to tell them "stories about personal experience, about real events that have happened in the past" (McCabe & Peterson, 1991, p. 226). Mothers were asked to do so in as natural a way as possible, "like you ordinarily behave when you ask your child to talk about past events" (McCabe & Peterson, 1991, p. 226). That is, mothers were asked to elicit interesting past events or experiences from their children, and no more specific instructions or requests were provided.

One hundred percent of the tapes provided were returned to the researcher. Audiotapes were transcribed verbatim for coding in the format required for analysis using the Child Data Exchange system (MacWhinny & Snow, 1985, 1990). Some mother-child

pairs, however, talked about more events than others. To establish a comparable data base, therefore, a decision was made to analyze only the initial three narrative productions by each mother-child pair. All the data used in this study are thus based on the initial three narrative productions from each mother-child pair.

Total number of words, total number of different words, type-token ratio in dialogic narrative. Table 1 presents the means and standard deviations of the total number of words and the total number of different words used in dialogic narrative interactions. For the four-year-olds, the total number of words ranged widely from 44 to 1114; the total number of different words ranged from 24 to 234. For the five-year-olds, the total number of words ranged from 123 to 493; the total number of different words ranged from 55 to 150. The larger numbers of the four-year-olds' total number of words and number of different words than those of the five-year-olds were attributable to one boy's and one girl's fairly long dialogic narrative productions. However, similar type-token ratios (the total number of different words divided by the total number of words) of these two age groups indicate that the levels of lexical redundancy are almost identical.

Neither gender nor age differences approached statistical significance for any of the three dependent variables, (1) the total number of words, (2) the total number of different words, and (3) the type-token ratio. Interesting interactions between age and gender, however, emerged. In dialogic narrative, the four-year-old boys (M = 500.00, SD = 381.90) produced a larger total number of words than did the four-year-old girls (M = 471.80, SD = 362.54), while the four-year-old girls (M = 139.00, SD = 57.83) produced a larger number of different words than did the four-year-old boys (M = 128.20, SD = 72.67) (see Figure 1). In contrast, the five-year-old girls produced both a larger total number of words (M = 368.40, SD = 112.93) and a larger number of different words (M = 128.40, SD = 31.00) than did the five-year-old boys (M = 218.00, SD = 83.91; M = 86.40, SD = 31.42) (see Figure 2).

Insert Figure 1 about here.

Insert Figure 2 about here.

Utterances over turns (i.e., the number of utterances produced by a speaker per turn) were also examined. The four-year-olds' utterances over turns ranged from 1.042 to 1.818, whereas the five-year-olds' utterances over turns ranged from 1.019 to 1.786 Although neither gender nor age difference reached statistical significance, the mean of the four-year-olds is slightly higher than that of the five-year-olds. While the development in this area looks as if it went in the opposite direction, this age-related decline happened because one particular four-year-old's exceptionally high score on utterances over turns pulled up the mean of the four-year-olds' utterances over turns.

Dialogic narrative performance exhibited by the 20 mothers also varied greatly. The total number of words ranged widely from 272 to 1012. The total number of different words ranged from 86 to 223. The mothers of four-year-olds produced a marginally larger total number of words (M = 658.40, SD = 295.70) than did the mothers of five-year-olds (M = 451.00, SD = 126.73), F (1, 16) = 3.92, p = .065. The result might indicate that the mothers of four-year-olds, regardless of the child's gender, felt more need to extend their children's narrative productions than did the mothers of five-year-olds.

Insert Table 1 about here.

Study One: Micro-level Narrative Discourse Analysis

Narrative Discourse Devices

The purpose of the micro-level narrative discourse analysis was to provide detailed information regarding how discourse devices employed by Japanese mothers shape their children's narrative style. Specifically, this section discusses two major types of discourse devices: (1) the listener's un (uh huh) in response to the narrator's ne (you know) and (2) the listener's use of huun (well).

Example 1 below is from Sachi, a girl aged 5;9. Sachi and her mother are in the middle of a conversation about a birthday party held at preschool at which her teacher was disguised as a spook. Some important linguistic items appear in this example, such as the rapport particle ne (you know) and brief acknowledgment un (uh huh).

Example 1 Sachi and her mother's interaction

Mother: tanjoobi kai de obake yashiki shite,
'At a birthday party, (you) played a haunted house.'

Sachi: chtto **ne**,
'Um, you know,'

(Mother: **un**)
'uh huh'

Sachi: sensei uso tsuiten yan.
'the teacher was a liar.'
koo shite **ne**,
'(She) did this, you know,'

(Mother: **un**)
'uh huh'

Sachi: sensei ga **ne**,
'the teacher, you know,'

(Mother: **un**)

'uh huh'

Sachi: omen kabutte,

'put on a mask,'

koo shite **ne**,

'and did this, you know,'

(Mother: **un**)

'uh huh'

----------(omit segment)----------

Sachi: **datte** sensei **ne**,

'because the teacher, you know,'

(Mother: **un**)

'uh huh'

Sachi: Kumagumi san no heya e itta toki **ne**,

'when (we) went into the Kumagumi (Bear Class) room, you know,'

(Mother: **un**)

'uh huh'

Sachi: konna kao yatta mon.

'(we found her face) was like this.'

(Mother: **ah so**)

'uh really'

Sachi: obake no kao yatta mon.

'(Hers) was a spooky face.'

Mother: obake no kao yattan.

'(Hers) was a spooky face.'

hee!

'Dear!'

The role of brief verbal acknowledgment. Spoken Japanese is often produced in smaller units than traditional grammatical ones, such as a sentence or a clause. These smaller units are often marked by the particle ne, which serves as a contextualization device similar to "you know" in English. Okubo (1959), for example, defines this type of ne as an indication that a child, pausing there, is searching for what to say next. The particle ne also serves as a marker of what Maynard (1989) calls a pause-bounded phrasal unit, which would correspond to what Chafe (1980) calls an "idea unit"--a series of brief spurts in narrative discourse. As Sachi's narrative illustrates, segmented by sentence- or clause-final particles (e.g., koo shite **ne**, 'did this, you know') as well as particles within a sentence (e.g., sensei **ne**, 'the teacher, you know'), these smaller parts serve as units in oral Japanese discourse (see Figure 3).

Insert Figure 3 about here.

More important, since the particle ne is used as an attention-getting and, thus, contextualization device, it contributes to the harmonious mutual understanding that is highly valued in Japanese society. The effectiveness of ne in this regard is also evidenced in example 1, in which, as one of the noticeable aspects, the mother contributes to the child's narrative construction by frequently showing brief acknowledgment un (uh huh). Aizuchi [or back-channeling, to borrow Yngve's (1970) term], which literally means "alternate/mutual hammering," describes a situation in which the listener gives responses that make a conversation go smoothly. By uttering ne (you know), the speaker may elicit the listener's brief verbal acknowledgment.[2] In return, the listener's frequent brief acknowledgment un is a discursive device that helps the narrator construct a sentence, thereby facilitating narration. Uchida (1986) has claimed that without listeners' proper brief acknowledgments, the storyteller would not be able to tell folktales rhythmically. As far as Japanese narrative is concerned, therefore, the story recipient's brief

acknowledgments effectively signal that he or she shares common ground with the storyteller. In the context of mother-child interactions, we can further say that the Japanese mother speaks few words and few utterances per turn, and instead, often simply shows attention, which, in fact, serves to divide the child's utterances into small units. Japanese narrative discourse is therefore, through attention-getting devices and brief acknowledgment, co-constructed by the child and the mother.

The role of prefacing "huun." A second discursive device used by many Japanese mothers to show attention is huun (well). In Japanese adult discourse, huun has been described as serving a prefacing function signaling the introduction of a new topic (Maynard, 1989; Yamada, 1992). The Japanese mother-child interaction, however, reveals that huun is more complicated than has originally been discussed, and that, instead, it has the following four different functions: (1) prefacing of topic-extension, (2) prefacing of topic-switch, (3) simple verbal acknowledgment, and (4) brief acknowledgment accompanied by echoes.

When a child talks about a particular incident, if the mother says, "huun, sorekara" (Well. Then?) or more extensively "huun, sorekara doo shita no?" (Well. Then, what did you do?), the mother's use of huun prefaces her wish to extend the topic. Thus, this use of huun serves as prefacing of topic-extension. In each of the following examples, notice that, whether a leading question for the topic-extension takes the form of a wh- (i.e., open-ended) question or a yes-no question, huun prefaces the topic-extension statement. That is, right after uttering huun, in order to extend a topic Akira's mother uses a wh-question (example 2.a), but Kana's mother uses a yes/no (i.e., closed-ended) question (example 2.b). Furthermore, in Ayaka's example below (example 2.c), she and her mother are talking about what happened at a Buddhist service for her late grandfather. The first huun is used to preface the mother's topic-extension statement; right after uttering huun, Ayaka's mother pushes her to elaborate on the same topic further. To achieve her intention, although Ayaka's mother used a general prompt, "sorekara"

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("then") right after uttering huun, since Ayaka could not provide a satisfactory answer, her mother then gave a more specific, yes/no (closed-ended) question, banana mo tabetan? (Did [you] eat a banana, too?):

Example 2.a

Akira (boy, age 4;6)

Mother: watagashi oishi katta?

'Did the cotton candy taste good?'

Akira: un.

'Yeah.'

Mother: huun. **[prefacing of topic-extension]**

'Well.'

nan no aji shita?

'What kind of taste was (that)?'

Akira: chtto, watagashi no aji.

'Um, (it was) the taste of the cotton candy.'

Example 2.b

Kana (girl, age 4;6)

Kana: Ryota kun ga ne, mieta no.

'(I) saw Ryota.'

Mother: huun. **[prefacing of topic-extension]**

'Well.'

de, "Ryota kun mo issho ni asobo," tte ittan?

'And did (you) say "Ryota, let's play together"?'

Example 2.c

Ayaka (girl, age 5;3)

Ayaka: ochagashi mitai na yatsu tabeta.

'(I) ate something like a tea cake.'

Mother: honto.

'Really.'

huun. **[prefacing of topic-extension]**

'Well.'

sorekara?

'Then?'

Ayaka: uun.

'Um.'

Mother: banana mo tabetan?

'Did (you) eat a banana, too?'

Ayaka: un.

'Yeah.'

Mother: ne.

'You see.'

Ayaka: un, tabeta.

'Yeah, (I) did eat (it).'

Mother: oishikatta?

'Did (it) taste good?'

Ayaka: un.

'Yeah.'

Mother: huun. **[prefacing of topic-switch]**

'Well.'

kyoo wa nani shite asondetan?

'What did (you) play today?'

In contrast to huun as prefacing of topic-extension, if the mother says, "huun, hoka ni nani shita no kyoo yoochien de?" (Well. What else did you do in preschool today?), the use of huun signals a preface to a new topic. In Ayaka's example above, in

contrast to the first huun, which prefaces the mother's topic-extension statement, the second huun in Example 2.c prefaces the topic-switch; this time, Ayaka's mother uses an open-ended question initiating a new topic. Likewise, in each of the following examples, huun prefaces a topic-switch statement. Notice how Ryota's mother changes the topic of conversation from playing the drum to riding a bicycle (example 3.a). Similarly, Sae's mother changes the topic from playing in the swimming pool to playing in the sea, although "playing in the water" is shared in both topics and, thus, these two topics are related to each other (example 3.b):

Example 3.a

Ryota (boy, age 4;0)

Mother: taiko mo kirai?

'Don't (you) like drums, either?'

Ryota: un.[3]

'No.'

Mother: huun. **[prefacing of topic-switch]**

'Well.'

ah so, soshitara ne, konaida no ne jitensha de ippai hashitta de sho.

'Um, then, you know, last time (you) rode a bicycle a lot, didn't (you)?'

Ryota: un.

'Yeah.'

Example 3.b

Sae (girl, age 4;8)

Mother: don nan shite asonda?

'What kind of playing did (you) do (in the pool)?'

Sae: oyoida.

'(I) swam.'

Mother: huun. **[prefacing of topic-switch]**

'Well.'

umi itta tte itteta ne.

'(You) said (you) went to the sea, didn't (you)?'

umi tanoshi katta?

'Did (you) enjoy (playing in) the sea?'

In the case of simple acknowledgment, if the mother says to the child "huun," and the child then continues his or her story, it can be interpreted that the mother simply acknowledges what the child has said. The function of this huun is thus very similar to the function of the previously mentioned un (uh huh). In the second example below, for instance, Tamotsu and his mother are in the middle of discussion about what he bought for souvenirs when he went to an amusement park with his grandparents (example 4). When comparing Tamotsu's mother's huun and un, it seems clear that they function in similar ways:

Example 4

Tamotsu	(boy, age 4;7)
Mother:	nani katta?
	'What did (you) buy?'
Tamotsu:	uun to, ne, Warabe chan no nee, ano Kitty no booshi no pink no yatsu.
	'Um, you know, for Warabe (my younger sister), you know, that Hello Kitty hat, the pink one.'
	Tamotsu kun wa Keroppy no mizuame man.
	'For me, Keroppy's thick malt syrup.'
Mother:	oishii?
	'Does (it) taste good?'
Tamotsu:	un.
	'Yeah.'
	oishi katta.

'(It) tasted good.'

Mother: huun. **[simple acknowledgment]**

'Well.'

Tamotsu: de ne Tamotsu kun wa tameru yatsu aru de sho,

'And, you know, for my own there is a thing for saving.'

(Mother: un)

'uh huh'

In some cases, furthermore, the mother first echoes her child's utterances, either partially or entirely, and then says huun; soon after that, the child continues his or her story. The function of this huun is similar to that of simple acknowledgment huun because neither one plays the role of prefacing. Unlike simple acknowledgment huun, however, turntaking interaction takes place in this case. Moreover, this type of huun, although an unplanned effort, more positively performs a topic-extension function than does simple acknowledgment huun. In the first example below, Sho and his mother are talking about a trip to a nearby mountain (Example 5). As a leading question Sho's mother uses a closed-ended (i.e., yes/no) question, which is, in reality, a prompt for content information. That is, a simple "yes" or "no" is not adequate as an answer because she expects the child to mention who went to the hotel with them. Then, to draw expected answers, she repeatedly uses brief acknowledgment huun after echoing what Sho has said.

Example 5

Sho (boy, age 4;6)

Mother: Rokkoo san no hotel oboeteru?

'Do (you) remember the hotel in Mount Rokkoo?'

Sho: Rokkoo san no hotel?

'The hotel in Mount Rokkoo?'

Mother: un.

'Yeah.'

Mother: dare to itta no?

'With whom did (you) go?'

Sho: wasureta.

'(I) forgot.'

Mother: wasuretan.

'(You) forgot.'

huun. **[brief acknowledgment after echo]**

'Well.'

Sho: ah, Ta kkun da.

'Uh, (it must have) been Ta kun.'

Mother: Ta kkun to issho ni ittan?

'Did (you) go with Ta kun?'

Mother: huun. **[brief acknowledgment after echo]**

'Well.'

Sho: Ta kkun to boku to.

'Ta kun and me.'

As can be seen in these examples, huun indicates a certain mental transition; while uttering huun, the mother evidently decides whether to continue the current topic or terminate it and introduce a new one. In reference not only to un but also to huun, using the term "back-channeling" has intentionally been avoided because this term implies an unconditional signal to go on talking. While sometimes huun is used by the listener to preface topic-extension, at other times huun is used by the listener to take the floor through topic-switch. Overall, we may be able to conclude that the more the mother uses this discourse device of prefacing of topic-extension, the further the child develops the topic.

Reliability

Using the categorization described above, all 105 maternal huun utterances were categorized independently by two raters.[4] Inter-rater agreement across the four categories resulted in a Cohen's kappa statistic of 0.97, representing "almost perfect" agreement (Bakeman & Gottman, 1986; Landis & Koch, 1977).

Results

Two types of discourse devices in Japanese were statistically analyzed, namely, the child's ne (you know) immediately followed by the mother's un (uh huh) and maternal huun (well). For the first discourse device (ne followed by un), I counted frequencies of the child's ne immediately followed by the mother's un and conducted a two-way (group x gender) analysis of variance (ANOVA) on this frequency variable. This test revealed that there was no significant effect of group or gender.[5] As far as this variable is concerned, therefore, regardless of age and gender, Japanese mothers use the same strategy to support their children's narrative production.

For the second discourse device (the use of huun), I coded all maternal huun utterances in accordance with their function. I then conducted a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) for the four dependent variables, (1) prefacing of topic-extension, (2) prefacing of topic-switch, (3) simple verbal acknowledgment, and (4) brief acknowledgment accompanied by echoes. While the overall multivariate test did not approach statistical significance, a subsequent series of analyses of variance (ANOVA) accompanied by Bonferroni Post Hoc tests revealed the following: (1) As can be seen in Table 2a, there was a significant univariate effect of group on the "maternal prefacing of topic-extension huun," $F(1, 16) = 5.34$, $p < .05$. A Bonferroni Post Hoc test showed that mothers of four-year-olds used huun as prefacing of topic-extension more frequently than did mothers of five-year-olds.[6] (2) As seen in Table 2b, there was also a main univariate effect of gender on the "maternal simple verbal acknowledgment huun," $F(1, 16) = 4.57$,

$p < .05$. A Bonferroni Post Hoc test revealed that mothers of boys more frequently used huun as simple verbal acknowledgment than did mothers of girls.[7]

Insert Tables 2.a and 2.b about here.

The first result indicates that compared to mothers of five-year-olds, mothers of four-year-olds, regardless of the child's gender, were more likely to give topic-extension prompts right after uttering huun. Mothers of four-year-olds tried to facilitate narrative conversation, pushing for more elaborated information of the same topic; consequently, with all the huuns, they support their children's narrative building. Thus, there is a clear age-related decline in the use of prefacing of topic-extension huun. As previously seen in examples 2.a, b, and c, right after uttering huun, mothers tried to push their children to elaborate on the same topic further, using both closed-ended and open-ended questions (in many cases, mothers moved on to closed-ended questions when their children's responses to open-ended questions were not satisfactory). Therefore, frequent use of huun for this purpose by the mothers of four-year-olds probably reflects that they felt more need to extend their children's story than did the mothers of five-year-olds. This result also seems to correspond to the previously reported finding (in this study) that the total number of words produced by the mothers of four-year-olds in mother-child interactions is larger than that of the mothers of five-year-olds.

The second result indicates that compared to mothers of daughters, mothers of sons, regardless of the child's age, were more likely to simply acknowledge their sons' talk. This difference might be attributable to the difference in interactional style between boys and girls; boys' conversational interval might be longer than that of girls, so that mothers of sons might have tended to use huun as a filler. Another possible reason for this difference is that boys were more reticent than girls, and thus mothers needed to facilitate their sons' talk more. Recall that although not approaching statistical

significance, in mother-child interactions the four-year-old boys produced a smaller number of different words than did four-year-old girls. Recall also that in mother-child interactions five-year-old boys produced both a smaller total number of words and a smaller number of different words than did five-year-old girls. Thus, although the result may not imply that mothers' strategy to encourage children's narrative production has backfired, more use of simple acknowledgment huun by mothers of boys seems related to the results previously presented in this study.

Study Two: Macro-level Narrative Discourse Analysis

So far this study has focused on the functions of the two major types of discourse devices. Using a modified version of Dickinson's (1991) system, the macro-level narrative discourse analysis then examines overall maternal narrative elicitation patterns.

Coding Rules

Transcripts of all parents' speech were scored according to Dickinson's (1991) system, which was previously used to analyze how speech acts are mapped onto dialogic narrative discourse in English. By using Dickinson's coding scheme as a basis, Minami (1994a, 1994b, in press-a) and Minami and McCabe (1993, 1995) have devised coding rules that are also applicable cross-linguistically, particularly to Japanese data.

Insert Figure 4 about here.

Figure 4 gives a graphic representation of coding rules for parental speech; transcripts of all parents' speech were scored according to these coding rules. Parental utterances were coded as one of three types: (I) topic-initiation (or topic-switch), (II) topic-extension, and (III) conversational strategies that simply show attention, such as "un" (uh huh) and "huun" (well). Utterances categorized as topic-extension were further categorized into: (A) descriptive statements that describe or request description of a scene, a condition, or a state, (B) statements about or requests for information about

actions that, accompanied by an action verb, describe a specific action, (C) the mother's evaluative comments, and (D) the mother's request for child's evaluative comments.[8] Detailed guidelines for these categorizations are explained below:

(I) Topic-Initiation (Switching)

1. Open-ended questions initiating a new topic (e.g., "kyoo yoochien de nani shita no?": "What did [you] do in preschool today?").
2. Closed-ended questions initiating a new topic (e.g., "suuji awase yatta?": "Did [you] play matching numbers?").
3. Statements initiating a new topic (e.g., "kono mae Disneyland e itta de sho.": "The other day [we] went to Disneyland.").

(II) Topic-Extension

4. Open-ended questions extending topics (e.g., "nani ga ichiban suki datta?": "What did [you] like best?").
5. Closed-ended questions extending topics (e.g., "tanoshi katta?": "Did [you] enjoy it?").
6. Statements extending a topic (e.g., "nani ka itteta de sho.": "[You- were saying something.").
7. Clarifying questions (e.g., "nani?": "what?").
8. Clarifying questions that were partial echoes (e.g., "dare ga chuu shite kuretan?": "Who gave [you] smacks?" after the child said, "chuu chuu chutte yatte.": "Smack, smack, smacked [me].").
9. Echoes (e.g., "shiranakatta no.": "[You] didn't know" after the child said, "shiranakatta.": "[I] didn't know.").

(III) Other Conversational Strategies

10. Statements showing attention, such as brief acknowledgment (e.g., "un.": "Yeah.") and prefacing utterances (e.g., "huun.": "Well.").[9]

Speech patterns that are categorized into topic-extension are further categorized into:

A. Descriptive statements (which describe or request description of a scene, a condition, or a state)

"ato Momotaro no hon mo atta de sho.": "Besides there was a book about the Peach Boy."

"denki ga tsuiteta ne.": "There were electric lights, you know."

"jibun de unten suru kuruma?: "Is (it) a car that you drive on your own?"

B. Statements about or requests for information about actions (which, accompanied by an action verb, describe a specific action)

"janken de saisho kimeta.": "(We) tossed first by scissors, paper, and rock."

"banana mo tabetan.": "(You) also ate a banana."

"umi ni ittetan?": "Did (you) go to the sea?"

"Yuki chan ga arattan.": "Yuki washed."

"nan te kaita no Yukari chan wa typewriter de?": "What did (you) write with the typewriter, Yukari?"

C. Mother's evaluative comments

"sore ii ne.": "That's good, you know."

"Aki chan chiisa katta mon ne.": "Because (you) were small, Aki, you know."

"uso.": "That's not true."

D. Mother's request for child's evaluative comments

"sore doo omou?": "What do (you) think about it?"

"u chan no doko ga kawaii no?": "What do (you) think makes the bunny cute?"

"oishi kattan?": "Did (it) taste good?"

Once all the transcripts were coded, a series of Computerized Language Analysis (CLAN) programs were employed to analyze frequencies of different parental speech patterns.

Reliability

There was one principal coder of the dialogic narrative (i.e., parent conversational) data, but four full transcripts (i.e., 20 percent) were randomly selected and coded by a second person. Cohen's kappa, an estimate of reliability that corrects for chance rates of agreement, was 0.97 for the first level (topic-initiation, topic-extension, and statements showing attention); for the second level (descriptive statements, statements about actions, mother's evaluative comments, and mother's request for child's evaluative comments) it was 0.87. Thus, all estimates of reliability fall into the range of "almost perfect" agreement (Bakeman & Gottman, 1986; Landis & Koch, 1977).

Results

For each category of parental speech, the total frequency of such speech was counted; the proportional frequency was also calculated by dividing the total frequency of each category by the total number of utterances that the mother produced. First, frequencies were analyzed because they represent the impact that loquaciousness might have on children's narration (e.g., Hoff-Ginsberg, 1992; McCabe & Peterson, 1991; Reese, Haden, & Fivush, 1992). Second, proportions were used because they correct for differences in length and allow us to see differing relative emphasis on components of narration. To test for the effect of group and gender, multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVA) were conducted for the major coding categories: 1) maternal requests for descriptions, actions, and evaluations, 2) maternal evaluations, 3) statements showing attention, and 4) initiation.

With regard to frequencies, while the overall multivariate test did not approach statistical significance, a subsequent series of univariate analyses of variance (ANOVA) accompanied by Bonferroni Post Hoc tests revealed the following: There was a significant univariate effect of group on maternal requests for child's evaluative comments, $F(1, 16) = 10.37$, $p < .01$ (see Table 3). A Bonferroni Post Hoc test showed

that mothers of four-year-olds requested evaluation from their children more frequently than did mothers of five-year-olds.[10]

Insert Table 3 about here.

In terms of proportions, there was a marginal effect of group, Wilks' lambda = .48, approximate $\underline{F}$ (5, 12) = 2.57, $\underline{p}$ = .08. As can be seen Table 3, the effect of group was largely attributable to a marginal effect on maternal requests for child's evaluative comments, $\underline{F}$ (1, 16) = 3.56, $\underline{p}$ < .08. While a Bonferroni Post Hoc test did not reach statistical significance, the mothers of four-year-olds requested proportionately more evaluation ($\underline{M}$ = 26.44, $\underline{SD}$ = 10.49) than did the mothers of five-year-olds ($\underline{M}$ = 17.18, $\underline{SD}$ = 8.30).

Likewise, although the overall multivariate test did not approach statistical significance, there was a marginal univariate effect of gender on maternal requests for child's evaluative comments, $\underline{F}$ (1, 16) = 4.37, $\underline{p}$ = .053. Although a Bonferroni Post Hoc test did not reach statistical significance, the mothers of sons requested proportionately more evaluation ($\underline{M}$ = 25.05, $\underline{SD}$ = 9.28) than did the mothers of daughters ($\underline{M}$ = 16.77, $\underline{SD}$ = 9.26).

The Relationship between Maternal Narrative Elicitation Patterns and Children's Developing Narrative Skill

This section examines the relationship between maternal narrative elicitation styles (i.e., dialogic narratives) and children's developing narrative skill, which I reported elsewhere (Minami, in press-b) [a researcher elicited narratives from the same 20 Japanese preschool children <u>without much scaffolding</u> (i.e., monologic narratives)]. Table 4 displays correlations between equivalent (and related) measures in the two different narrative activities, monologic narratives and dialogic narratives (four-year-olds and five-year-olds combined). A pattern of positive correlations emerges between

equivalent measures in the two different activities: (1) quantity and variety: the more words, and the greater variety of words, the child used when performing with his or her mother, the more words and greater variety of words the child used when constructing narratives alone; (2) duration: the longer the mother allowed her child to continue talking per turn during narrative elicitation, the longer the child continued to talk during a monologic narrative task, using more words and greater variety of words. These data might suggest possible transfer from one context (mother-child interactions) to another (monologic narrative production).

An alternative interpretation is certainly possible. These results may simply suggest that talkative children in mother-child interactions are also talkative when asked to talk about past events in the monologic narrative task, and that reticent children in mother-child interactions are also reticent when asked to talk about the past on their own. Following this interpretation, therefore, regardless of differences in the context (i.e., either monologic or dialogic), talkative children are consistently talkative, and, in contrast, reticent children are consistently reticent.

Insert Table 4 about here.

How mothers verbally interact with their young children during narrative elicitation is reflective of those children's developing narrative skill. Although marginal, maternal requests for actions during narrative elicitation were found to be negatively associated with children's action statements in their monologic narrative productions, $r(18) = -.41$, $p = .07$ (see Table 5). In other words, the more requests for actions the mother makes during narrative elicitation (i.e., dialogic narrative), the fewer action statements the child provides when talking about past events on his or her own (i.e., monologic narrative). Furthermore, the fewer requests for actions the mother makes during narrative elicitation, the more action statements the child provides when talking

about past events on his or her own. Although seemingly not supportive of a social interactionist point of view, this relationship is reasonable when considering the following: In mother-child interactions, the mother requested her child to talk about actions when she considered that her child gave insufficient action statements (the mother's repeated prodding might also have squelched her child's initiative). When a researcher elicited narratives without providing scaffolding, the child did not talk much about actions, either. The converse is also true. If the mother considered that her child had provided sufficient action statements during narrative elicitation (i.e., in the dialogic narrative context), she may not have felt the need to elicit more action statements. Since the child was relatively capable of providing action statements, when asked to talk about the past on his or her own (i.e., in the monologic narrative context), he or she also provided relatively sufficient action statements.[11] Therefore, maternal narrative elicitation strategies predict children's developing narrative skill.

Insert Table 5 about here.

The assumption that maternal narrative elicitation styles reflect children's developing narrative skill nicely accounts for other results obtained in the study of children's monologic narratives (Minami, in press-b). Recall that in the micro-level narrative discourse analysis in this study, mothers of four-year-olds used huun (well) as prefacing of topic-extension more frequently than did mothers of five-year-olds. I reported elsewhere (Minami, in press-b) that five-year-olds' narrative productions are slightly longer than those of four-year-olds. Compared to mothers of five-year-olds, then, the more frequent use of huun as prefacing of topic-extension by mothers of four-year-olds may reflect their concern that they need to develop and facilitate their children's narratives, staying on a topic they have selected.

Mothers of four-year-olds requested evaluation from their children more frequently than did mothers of five-year-olds (also recall a similar result reported in footnote 8). Once again, the above-mentioned assumption nicely explains the relationship between maternal styles of narrative elicitation and the children's developing narrative skill. My previous study (Minami, in press-b) indicated that four-year-olds gave proportionately less evaluation than adults, although no differences were observed between five-year-olds and adults. It seems reasonable to assume that since four-year-olds did not provide sufficient evaluative accounts in mother-child interactions either, mothers tended to emphasize requests for evaluations. Therefore, differences in elicitation style between mothers of four-year-olds and mothers of five-year-olds are related to age differences in children's narrative skill.

In connecting maternal narrative elicitation strategies with children's developing narrative skill, we can further explain why the differences in maternal requests for descriptions and actions did not approach statistical significance between the mothers of four-year-olds and the mothers of five-year-olds. In my previous study (Minami, in press-b) when a researcher elicited narratives from the children without providing much scaffolding, both four- and five-year-olds could provide a relatively sufficient amount of foreground information (i.e., actions), and, moreover, no difference was observed between these two age groups. In contrast to action statements that are categorized as referential (Labov & Waletzky, 1967), in the monologic narrative production task, although orientation is also considered referential, both age groups provided a relatively small number of orientation statements; however, like action statements, there was no difference in orientation statements between the two groups. Thus, it seems reasonable to assume that, since the four- and five-year-olds provided similar numbers of action and orientation statements, which are both categorized as referential, not only in monologic narrative productions but also in mother-child interactions, the mothers of four-year-olds and the mothers of five-year-olds chose similar narrative elicitation styles.

Finally, in mother-child interactions mothers of sons were found to request proportionately more evaluation than mothers of daughters. Although not significantly different, the results that I obtained from a previous study (Minami, in press-b) indicated that when asked to talk about past events on their own, boys gave proportionately less evaluation than did girls of the same age. That is, the mean of the proportion of evaluation of the five-year-old girls was 46.56 (SD = 31.68), whereas that of the five-year-old boys was 35.93 (SD = 18.99). Likewise, the mean of the proportion of evaluation of the four-year-old girls was 35.57 (SD = 15.14), whereas that of the four-year-old boys was 31.22 (SD = 29.25). What appears to be a difference between mothers of sons and mothers of daughters in narrative elicitation styles, in fact, reflects a difference in developing narrative skills between boys and girls.[12]

Discussion

The findings obtained from the present study seem to suggest that mothers' interaction styles are indicative of those children's developing narrative skill. That is, in contrast to Piaget (1959), for whom social interaction is only secondary, Vygotsky (1978) and Bruner (1977, 1986, 1990) emphasize the role of the environment in terms of language development. The results of this study thus seem to indicate that narrative discourse development is fundamentally embedded in the process of early social interactions. Specifically, the analysis of how Japanese parents guide their children in the acquisition of narrative provides some answers to the initial questions posed at the outset of this paper.

Age differences. Compared to mothers of five-year-olds, mothers of four-year-olds more frequently used huun to preface topic-extension. In comparison to mothers of five-year-olds, mothers of four-year-olds also requested more evaluation from their children. These tendencies may reflect the fact that because four-year-olds often said un (yes) or uun (no) without saying any more, their mothers needed to appeal to topic-extension strategies or to draw some kinds of evaluative comments from them, such as

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the example below, in which Akira (boy, age 4;6) and his mother are talking about catching goldfishes in a local festival.

Example 6 Akira and his mothers interaction

Akira: tsukamae tara, kawaisoo?

'If (I) catch (them), do (goldfishes) feel sad?'

Mother: kawaisoo?

'do (they) feel sad?'

Akira: un.

'Yeah.'

Mother: kawaisoo ya no?

'Do (they) feel sad?'

Akira: un.

'Yeah.'

Mother: huun. **[prefacing of topic-extension]**

'Well.'

demo iteru yan kingyo ie ni.

'But (you have) goldfishes in (our) house.'

Although children are considered to come to internalize and gain performance competencies through mother-child interactions like the above (Vygotsky, 1978), children's attitudes obviously influence their mothers' strategies. For example, if children were not capable of providing sufficient evaluative comments by themselves, mothers would insist that their children provide more evaluative comments. If children can provide relatively satisfactory evaluative comments, on the other hand, mothers would not need to ask their children to provide more evaluative comments. Thus, the mother's emphasis on requests for evaluations seems a product of two-way (i.e., bidirectional) interaction rather than that of one-way (i.e., unidirectional) interaction.

Gender differences. Compared to mothers of daughters, mothers of sons, regardless of the child's age, more frequently used huun as simple verbal acknowledgment. Also, in comparison to mothers of daughters, mothers of sons requested proportionately more evaluation. This tendency seems reflective of Japanese mothers' concern that boys are slower than girls in language development. The tendency may also reflect Japanese folk psychology represented in old sayings such as "Talkative males are embarrassing," which not only emphasizes that boys should be reticent but also acknowledges the general tendency that boys are more reticent than girls.

The Relationship between mother and child measures. Maternal styles of narrative elicitation relate to children's narrative skill. For example, an inverse relationship was found between the mother's requests for actions during narrative elicitation and the child's action statements in monologic narrative. Although this result appears contradictory, mothers have been found to scaffold children's narratives in ways that are consistent with the social interactionist paradigm in which language plays a social-communicative role (Bruner, 1977; Vygotsky, 1978). More specifically, mothers work on eliciting what is socioculturally desired but not present. That is, in mother-child interactions, unless the mother considers that her child gives sufficient action statements, she scaffolds her child by providing requests for actions. Overall, it seems clear that Japanese mothers simultaneously pay considerable attention to their children's narratives and support their children's progressive contributions to the narrative task.

Moreover, mothers' scaffolding strategies may not necessarily reflect children's failure to provide particular information. They may also be reflective of mothers' concern or folk psychology. Mothers were found to try to scaffold their son's talk by using huun as simple verbal acknowledgment and by requesting proportionately more evaluation. While it is certainly true that boys were less productive than girls during maternal narrative elicitation, these mothers' attitudes may reflect mothers' concern (or folk psychology) that boys are usually slower than girls in language development. Thus,

maternal elicitation strategies examined in this study mirror both children's developing narrative skills and mothers' concern to develop their children's particular skills.

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Footnotes

1. Fivush and Fromhoff's (1988) "elaborative mothers," who provide a substantial amount of information, correspond to what Hudson (1993) calls "high elaboration mothers"; Fivush and Fromhoff's "repetitive mothers," on the other hand, correspond to Hudson's "low elaboration mothers."

2. Note that, in Japanese culture, using frequent back-channeling is considered to be polite because it is assumed to signal that the hearer is paying attention to the speaker (Maynard, 1989; Yamada, 1992).

3. The use of un (yes) in this case means "no" in English. While in English the speaker answers "yes" or "no" without regard to the form of the question, in Japanese the speaker usually answers "yes" or "no" in agreement with the literal meaning of the question. According to conventional grammar, therefore, Japanese un (yes), as an answer to a negative question, corresponds to English "no." As can be seen in example 6.3a, in Japanese, in answering the question "taiko mo kirai ?" ("Don't (you) like drums, either?"), since the child did not like drums, he answered, "un/hai" ("Yes"). If the child had liked drums, on the other hand, then the answer would have been "uun/iie" ("No").

4. The function of huun was categorized by examining the subsequent mother's or child's response. The categorization of topic-extension applies, if the mother extends the topic subsequent to huun. Likewise, the topic-switch categorization applies, if the mother introduces an entirely new topic right after uttering huun. Simple acknowledgment applies, if the child still continues his or her talk right after huun. Finally, brief acknowledgment accompanied by echoes applies, if the child still continues his or her talk right after maternal echoes followed by huun. Thus, the function of huun was judged by looking at what comes before it.

5. ANOVA revealed the following: (1) for Group, F (1, 16) = .15, $p > .05$, and (2) for Gender, F (1, 16) = 1.74, $p > .05$. Interesting tendencies towards interactions between age and gender, however, emerged. The mothers of four-year-old girls most frequently uttered un immediately after the child's ne (M = 15.00, SD = 19.77) followed by the mothers of five-year-old girls (M = 11.80, SD = 13.74). In contrast, the mothers of five-year-old boys least frequently uttered un immediately after the child's ne (M = 5.20, SD = 4.32) followed by the mothers of four-year-old boys (M = 6.40, SD = 8.02).

6. The mothers of four-year-olds used huun as prefacing of topic-extension 3.60 times (SD = 2.68) on average, whereas the mothers of five-year-olds used huun for the same purpose 1.30 times (SD = 1.57) on average.

7. The mothers of boys used huun as simple verbal acknowledgment 2.60 times (SD = 3.20) on average, whereas the mothers of girls used huun for the same purpose .50 times (SD = .71) on average.

8. No significant associations were found between these four variables (this information is presented in Table 5). Although marginal, however, the mother's request for child's evaluative comments was negatively correlated with the age of the child, $r(18) = -.38$, $p = .09$. This means that compared to mothers of five-year-olds, mothers of four-year-olds make more requests for evaluations during narrative elicitation.

9. Regardless of its type (prefacing of topic-extension, prefacing of topic-switch, simple verbal acknowledgment, or brief acknowledgment accompanied by echoes) huun itself serves to show attention, and thus all the prior categories are included here.

10. The mothers of four-year-olds requested evaluation from their children 32.00 times (SD = 13.24) on average, whereas the mothers of five-year-olds requested evaluation 16.50 times (SD = 7.88) on average.

11. This work is a cross-sectional study; that is, the links between maternal narrative elicitation strategies and the children's developing narrative skill are inferred based on cross-sectional data. Peterson and McCabe's (1994) findings from their longitudinal study of 10 children over 17 months seem to support this inference; they found far more relationships to be significant between earlier parent behavior and later child skill than between parent behavior and child skill at any given point in time.

12. Although somewhat differently, this assumption also explains why mothers of sons used huun as simple verbal acknowledgment more frequently than did mothers of daughters. In a researcher's narrative elicitation without scaffolding, no gender differences were observed either in the total number of words or in the total number of different words produced by children. In maternal narrative elicitation, however, boys were generally more reticent than girls. Rather, more attentive responses by mothers of sons seem to reflect not only boys' reticence in mother-child interactions but also mothers' general concern/folk psychology that boys are slower than girls in language development.

Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations of Total Number of Words, Total Number of Different Words, Type-Token Ratio, and Utterances over Turns in Dialogic Narrative Production

	Four-year-olds (n = 10)		Five-year-olds (n = 10)		Mothers (n = 20)	
Variable	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Total number of words	485.90	351.36	293.20	122.81	554.70	245.65
Total number of different words	133.60	62.18	107.40	36.82	140.20	39.66
Type-Token ratio	.33	.10	.38	.06	.27	.05
Utterances over turns	1.30	.23	1.19	.22	1.66	.32

Table 2a
Mean Frequencies and Standard Deviations of Mothers' "Huun" (by group)

	Mothers of four-year-olds M	(SD)	Mothers of five-year-olds M	(SD)	F[a] values for main effect of GROUP
Prefacing topic-extension	3.60	(2.67)	1.30	(1.57)	5.34*
Prefacing topic-switch	1.40	(1.17)	1.10	(1.52)	0.23
Simple acknowledgment	2.30	(3.09)	0.80	(1.55)	2.33
Brief acknowledgment after echo	0.60	(1.07)	0.30	(0.67)	0.67

*p < .05

[a] Degrees of freedom = 1, 16

Table 2b
Mean Frequencies and Standard Deviations of Mothers' "Huun" (by gender)

	Mothers of sons M	(SD)	Mothers of daughters M	(SD)	F[a] values for main effect of GENDER
Prefacing topic-extension	2.70	(3.06)	2.20	(1.75)	0.25
Prefacing topic-switch	1.00	(1.33)	1.50	(1.35)	0.63
Simple acknowledgment	2.60	(3.20)	0.50	(0.71)	4.57*
Brief acknowledgment after echo	0.70	(1.06)	0.20	(0.63)	1.85

*p < .05

[a] Degrees of freedom = 1, 16

Table 3

Mean Frequencies and Percentages (Standard Deviations) of Mothers' Prompts to Children about Past Events

	Mothers of four-year-olds M	(SD)	Mothers of five-year-olds M	(SD)	F[a] values for main effect of GROUP
Requests for descriptions					
Frequencies	19.10	(8.94)	15.00	(7.35)	1.2
Percentages	13.36%	(3.46)	14.72%	(4.83)	0.53
Requests for actions					
Frequencies	28.80	(15.59)	23.50	(10.01)	0.76
Percentages	20.23%	(8.89)	24.30%	(11.27)	0.78
Requests for evaluations					
Frequencies	32.00	(13.24)	16.50	(7.88)	10.37**
Percentages	24.64%	(10.49)	17.18%	(8.30)	3.56~
Evaluations by mother herself					
Frequencies	22.70	(14.61)	15.40	(10.34)	1.50
Percentages	14.96%	(6.12)	14.69%	(6.62)	0.01
Statements showing attention					
Frequencies	36.20	(31.46)	27.10	(20.85)	0.56
Percentages	24.22%	(17.36)	26.18%	(19.15)	0.06
Initiation					
Frequencies	3.00	(0.00)	2.80	(0.63)	1.00
Percentages	2.59%	(1.46)	2.93%	(1.00)	0.37

~p < .10
*p < .05
**p < .01

[a] Degrees of freedom = 1, 16

Table 4
Correlations between Children's Performance Measures in Two Different Narrative Activities (four-year-olds and five-year-olds combined)

	DUOT	MNDW	MTNW	DNDW	DTNW
MUOT	.46*	.17	.22	.17	.11
DUOT		.41~	.43*	.57**	.62**
MNDW			.95****	.41~	.44*
MTNW				.33	.38~
DNDW					.94****

~p < .10
*p < .05
**p < .01
***p < .001
****p < .0001

MUOT: Utterances over turns in monologic narrative
DUOT: Utterances over turns in dialogic narrative
MNDW: Number of different words used in monologic narrative
MTNW: Total number of words used in monologic narrative
DNDW: Number of different words used in dialogic narrative
DTNW: Total number of words used in dialogic narrative

Note: Dialogic = with the mother, with scaffolding
Monologic = with the researcher, without scaffolding

Table 5

Correlations between Measures of Two Different Narrative Activities (Maternal Narrative Elicitation Patterns in Mother-Child Interactions and Children's Monologic Narrative Production)

	MACT	MEVL	MCEVL	CACT	CEVL	CORT
MDES	-.08	.36	.00	-.06	.18	.29
MACT		-.03	.16	-.41~	.27	.07
MEVL			-.08	.18	.01	-.10
MCEVL				-.05	-.03	.20
CACT					-.69**	-.32
CEVL						-.02

~p < .10
*p < .05
**p < .01

MDES: Maternal requests for descriptions (dialogic)
MACT: Maternal requests for actions (dialogic)
MEVL: Evaluations by mother herself (dialogic)
MCEVL: Maternal requests for evaluations (dialogic)
CACT: Child's action statements (monologic)
CEVL: Child's evaluation statements (monologic)
CORT: Child's orientation statements (monologic)

Note: Dialogic = with the mother, with scaffolding
Monologic = with the researcher, without scaffolding

Figure 1.
Total number of words and number of different words by group and child's gender (four-year-olds).

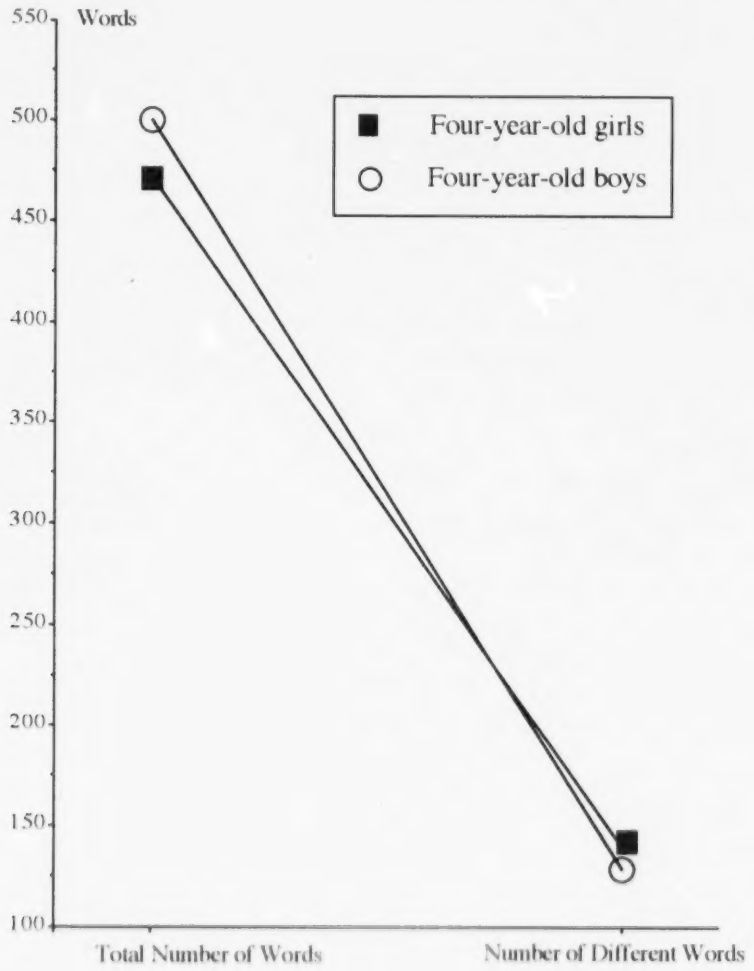


Figure 2.
Total number of words and number of different words by group and child's gender (five-year-olds).

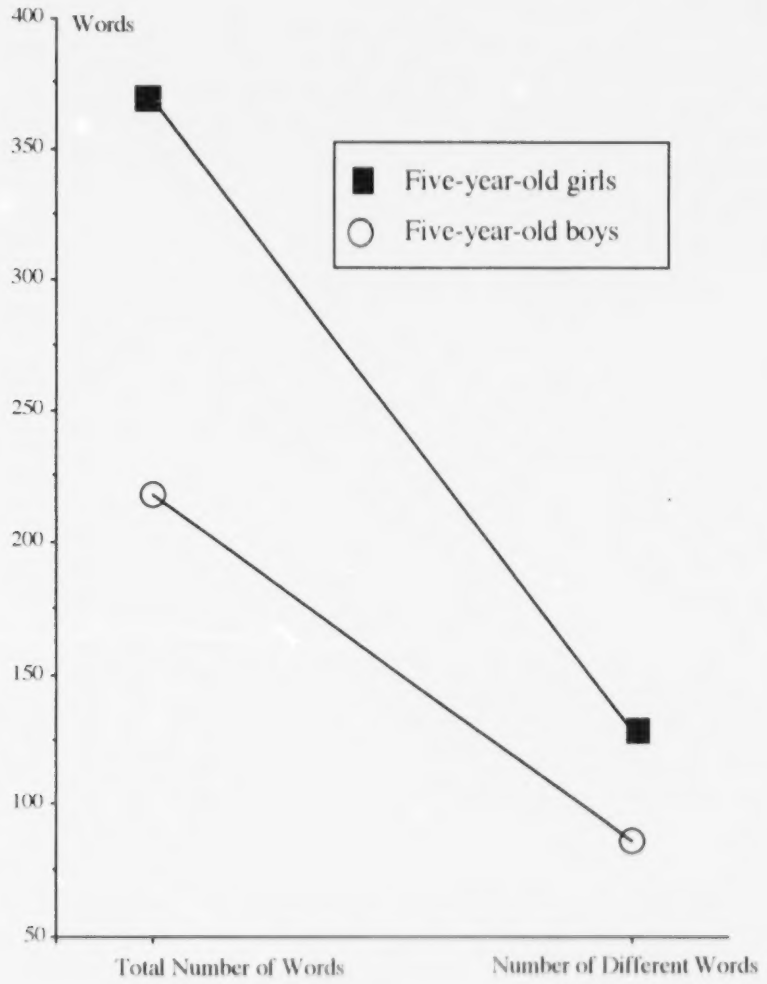
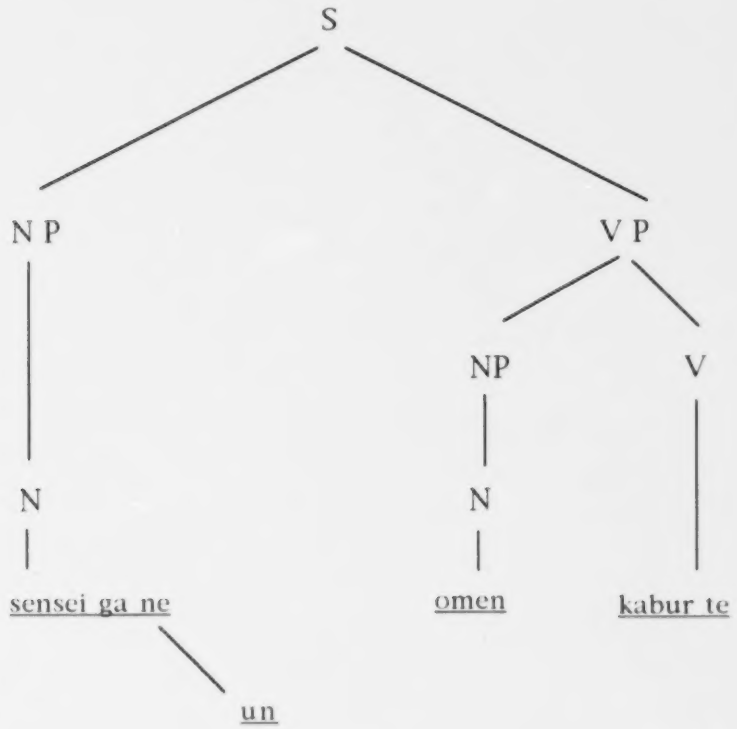


Figure 3.
Child's ne immediately followed by mother's un.



The teacher, you know, put on a mask.

Figure 4.
Coding system.